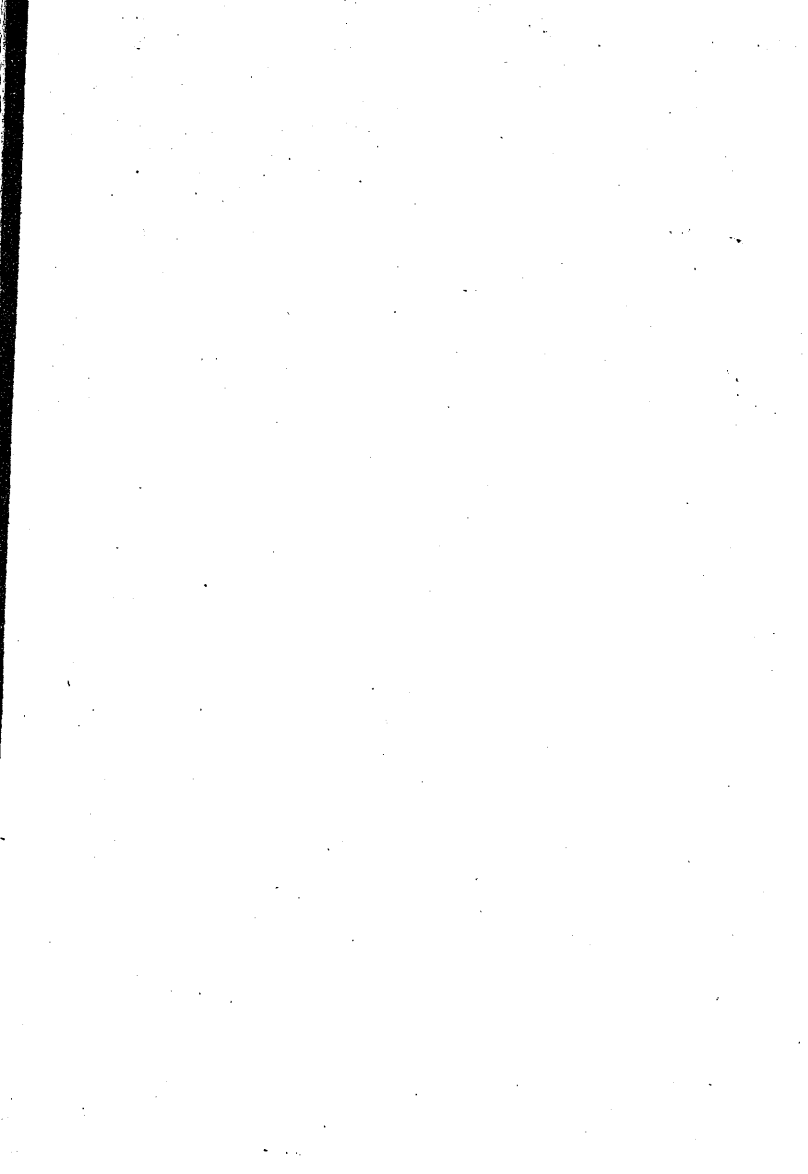


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**THE EUCHARIST IN
ST. PAUL**



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THE EUCHARIST IN ST. PAUL

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BY

STUART L. TYSON, M.A. (OXON.)

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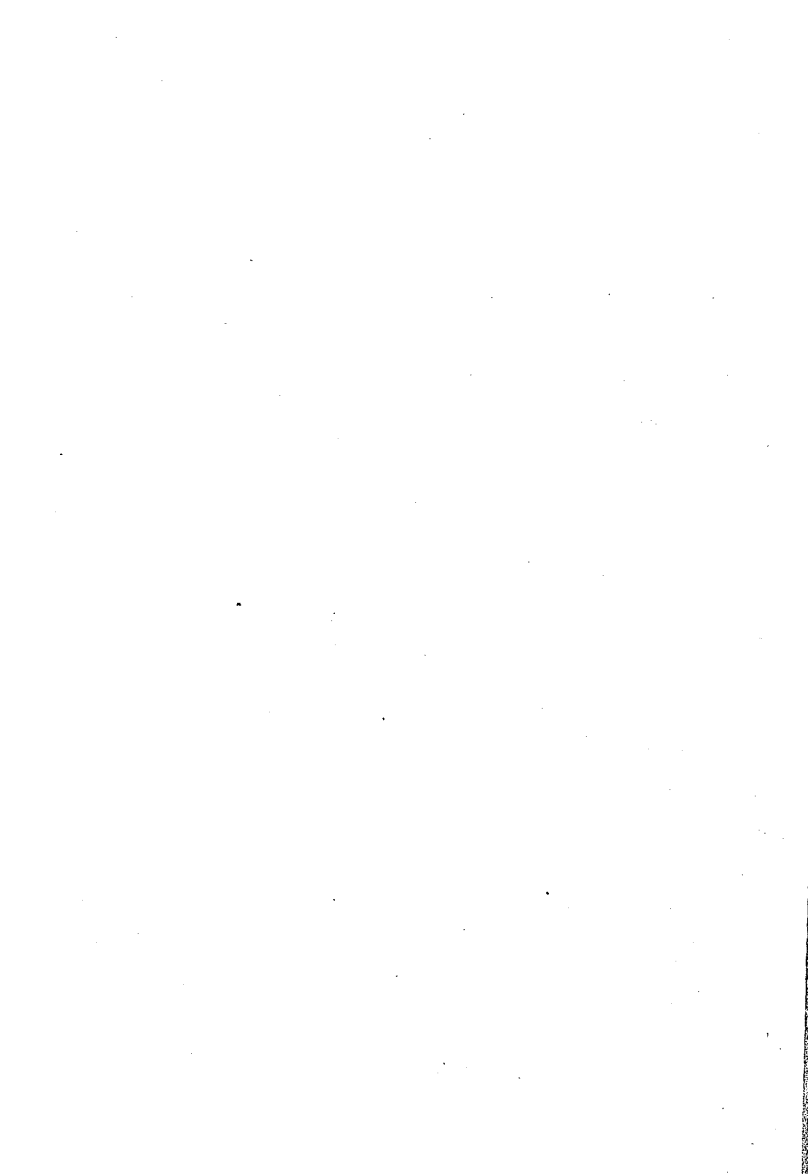
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FOREWORD

This monograph is the first publication of the Modern Churchmen's Union. It will be apparent at once that it has been prepared primarily neither for scholars nor for the public at large. To have attempted a detailed and critical discussion of the central rite of Christianity, around which during the centuries have gathered discussions and controversies innumerable, was, within the limits of space imposed by the Committee, obviously impossible. And as the professed student will find within its pages but little to stimulate his thought, so the members of the different Churches are likely to experience a sense of disappointment at the limitations of its argument. It has been written chiefly with a view to the problems of Anglicans; to meet some of the intellectual difficulties confronting the parochial clergyman and the educated layman of that Communion, and from this standpoint it should be estimated.

(Signed) STUART L. TYSON.



**THE EUCHARIST IN
ST. PAUL**

THE EUCHARIST IN ST. PAUL

IMPORTANCE OF ST. PAUL'S WITNESS. St. Paul is the earliest writing witness to Christian teaching and practice, and on this ground alone his words have a unique value. It is not always realized by Christian people that our earliest Gospel was probably not written until after his death; or that his own extant letters were composed during a period of not more than twenty to thirty-five years after the crucifixion of our Lord, and that therefore what he has left us constitute very nearly "contemporary" witness.

HIS REFERENCES TO THE EUCHARIST FOUND ONLY IN I CORINTHIANS. Assuming for our present purpose that thirteen of the letters in the New Testament were written by him, it is surprising, to say the least, in view of the place occupied by the Eucharist in the history of the Church, that in only one is there any mention of it. To the possible reason for this we must return later:

merely stating here that I Cor. x, 14-22, xi, 17-34, and (probably) xiv, 16 are the only references to the subject in any of the Epistles credited to him. In order properly to understand these passages, it becomes of great importance to gain a clear idea of the character of the Corinthian Church, and the circumstances under which the words were written.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH IN CORINTH, A. D. 50-51. St. Paul had founded the Church in Corinth on the second of his three missionary journeys, 50-51 A. D.¹ During his eighteen months' stay in what was perhaps the worst of the Graeco-Roman cities, where moral life was at so low an ebb that the Greeks themselves had coined the verb "Corinthiazomai" as a euphemism for all that is unspeakable in human nature, he had won to Christ a goodly number from among its inhabitants, the majority of the converts being Gentiles, with a not inconsiderable admixture of Jews. Among the upper classes, however, he had had but indifferent success. A few, but "not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many high born" had entered the new

¹ Acts xviii, 1ff.

Society.² For the most part, in this city which so deeply prided itself on its culture and varied wisdom, the Church was made up of members of the lowest social *stratum*. The general context of the letter makes it clear, however, that from whatever class they were drawn, on coming into the Church not a few had washed themselves from well-nigh unimaginable moral foulness.³

A.D. 55. THE OCCASION FOR WRITING I CORINTHIANS. I. To deal with disorders in the Church. Some four years have passed away since the founding of the Church, and with them the early fervour of conversion. To St. Paul, just finishing a three years' stay at Ephesus,⁴ comes very disquieting news of this youthful parish. Some members of the household of a Corinthian (?) lady named Chloe bring him word,⁵ not only of a profound abatement of early zeal, but that the gravest moral disorders have broken out among the parishioners, and all was tending toward a return to the *status quo ante*. In particular, there had arisen and developed a hideous party spirit:⁶ an unspeakable case of immorality

² I Cor. i, 26.

⁵ i, 11.

³ vi, 11.

⁶ i, 11ff.

⁴ xvi, 8, with Acts xx, 31.

had not simply been condoned but was actually extolled as an illustration of Christian liberty:⁷ fierce quarrels which had broken out had been carried to heathen law courts.⁸ The unseemly conduct of women in their assemblies⁹ was matched and exceeded by the gross excesses and profanation of the Lord's Supper.¹⁰ The very gifts of the Spirit were employed, not with a view to the building up of character, but for purposes of vain-glorious ostentation.¹¹ Many of the communicants, who had returned to attendance at the heathen religious festivals, saw no incongruity in coming afterwards to the Lord's Table.¹²

2. To answer a letter from the Corinthians. A group of these Corinthians had sent the Apostle a letter,¹³ asking him to solve for them a number of difficult questions about which they were perplexed. Thus they desired to know whether, in view of the near return of Christ, marriage was right;¹⁴ and if so, whether mixed marriages were to be allowed.¹⁵ Was it right to eat meat of-

⁷ v, 1ff.

⁸ vi, 1ff.

⁹ xi, 2ff.

¹⁰ xi, 17ff.

¹¹ xiv, 1ff.

¹² x, 14ff.

¹³ vii, 1.

¹⁴ vii, 1ff.

¹⁵ vii, 12ff.

ferred to idols? ¹⁶ What was the proper dress of men and women at their meetings? ¹⁷ What was the relative value of spiritual gifts? ¹⁸ What would be the nature of the resurrection body? ¹⁹ How were they to collect money for the needy "saints" at Jerusalem? ²⁰ Might Apollos come back to them? ²¹

SUMMARY OF THE APOSTLE'S PURPOSE IN WRITING. It was to meet these dual conditions that St. Paul wrote I Corinthians. His object was not only to recall the Church to a sense of its corporate unity and of its separateness from the heathen world, but also to show its members that the only criterion for deciding difficult questions was "loving kindness" and that which had a tendency to build up the character of others. Throughout the letter, in one way or another, runs the thought, "Flee from idolatry."

ST. PAUL'S ACCOUNT OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE EUCHARIST. Before proceeding to examine St. Paul's teaching on the Eucharist in detail, it may be well to look briefly at his account of the Institution, as contained in chapter xi, 23-25.

¹⁶ viii, 1ff.

¹⁷ xi, 2ff.

¹⁸ xii, 1ff.

¹⁹ xv, 35ff.

²⁰ xvi, 1ff.

²¹ xvi, 12.

"I received as a trust from the Lord," he says, "that which as a trust I also delivered unto you." There can be little doubt that the twice repeated preposition ²² has a real significance. The Eucharist is not something with which men may play fast and loose. The Corinthians, no less than St. Paul, are trustees; as, in recalling his original teaching to this Church some four years previously, he now reminds them. The content of this trust, he says, he received "from the Lord." "Through what medium?" one asks at once; for the term employed ²³ simply tells us the "whence," in a wide and general sense. Although St. Paul affirms, *e.g.*, in Gal. i, 11, 12, that the Gospel which he preached was not received by him from man, "neither was I taught it, but it came to me through a revelation of Jesus Christ," this does not mean that he did not learn the *facts* of Christ's life from those who were Christians before him. It was the *significance* of those facts, *e.g.*, that "Christ is the termination of law unto righteousness to everyone that be-

²² "Παρέλαβον, παρέδωκα. . . Παράλαμβάνω. . . 'to receive something transmitted to one' . . . is the uniform, or all

but uniform use in Paul." Burton on Gal. i, 12.

²³ Παρά

lieveth":²⁴ that "in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision, but faith energizing through love":²⁵ that "the whole law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,"²⁶ which had come to him solely from his inner fellowship with the Lord. Hence there is no reason to suppose that he means here to exclude older Christians as the medium of his information.

HIS DATE FOR THE INSTITUTION. It is interesting to note the way in which he dates the Institution. It was "in the night in which He was being betrayed."²⁷ There is no reference to the Passover, as in the Synoptists; and its absence here, as well as the identification of Christ with the paschal lamb in v, 7, and the apparent synchronizing of a ceremony of Nisan 16 with the resurrection on the third day²⁸, seem to indicate that St. Paul, like the author of the Fourth Gospel²⁹ and the early Church, puts the date of the Last Supper on Nisan 14, or twenty four hours

²⁴ Rom. x, 4.

perfect.

²⁵ Gal. v, 6.

²⁶ xv, 20.

²⁶ Gal. v, 14.

²⁷ *e.g.*, John xiii, 29, xviii,

²⁷ παρεδίδото, graphic im- 28.

earlier than the Synoptists. The latter bear indirect testimony themselves to the fact that our Lord really did hold the Supper a day prior to the eating of the paschal lamb. For the events which they describe as happening on the same (Jewish) day would have been impossible on Nisan 15. As Sanday well says:³⁰ "The events of the night would involve sacrilege for a devout Jew. On such a holy day it was not allowed to bear arms; and yet Peter is armed, and the servants of the High Priest, if not themselves armed, accompany an armed party. Then we have the hurried meeting of the Sanhedrin who, according to the Synoptic version, would have just risen from the paschal meal. Jesus is taken to the *praetorium* of the Roman Governor, to enter which would cause defilement, and that on the most sacred day of the feast. Simon of Cyrene is represented as coming in from the country, which though perhaps not necessarily implying a working day, looks more like it than a day treated as a sabbath. The haste with which the bodies were taken down from the cross is accounted for by the sanctity of a day that is about

³⁰The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel, p. 154.

to begin, not of one that is just ending (Mark xv, 42). If it had been the latter, Joseph of Arimathæa could not have 'bought' the linen cloth in which the body was laid."

DID CHRIST USE LEAVENED OR UNLEAVENED BREAD? If this earlier date be accepted—and it would appear as though we must accept it—we have no way of knowing whether the 'loaf',³¹ which Jesus took was leavened or unleavened. This is a small enough matter in itself, yet the question shook the Church many centuries ago. Its consideration has by analogy an important bearing upon the contents of the cup, which is still a matter of much moment to many today. If the Synoptists are correct as to the dating of the Supper, the loaf was without question unleavened, since by Jewish law no particle of panary ferment was allowed in one's house after—at the latest—noon on the previous Jewish day. But, as is most probable, if the Eucharist was instituted twenty-four hours earlier, then it would depend wholly upon local circumstances in that particular house in Jerusalem whether it was fermented or unfermented. For while the search

³¹ ἄρτος

for panary ferment, with a view to its destruction, had already begun, it was not required to be completed until noon on the following day. Hence it is quite possible that the host had some fermented loaves still in the house, which he might well have made use of for so many guests. It is equally possible that he might already have destroyed the old leaven, and finished his baking for the feast of unleavened bread. In early days the Church used leavened bread in accordance with the implications of St. Paul and the Fourth Gospel, a practice continued to this day in the East. In the West, however, after the influence of St. Matthew's Gospel with its later day for the Institution had become supreme, the authorities began to employ unleavened bread, and still later abandoned the one loaf of the Last Supper, in favor of individual wafers.

THE MEANING OF "GAVE THANKS." St. Paul goes on to say that Jesus having taken the loaf—according to St. Mark it was "as they were eating," ³² *i.e.*, in the midst of the meal—"gave thanks" ³³ over it, which, as may be seen from a comparison with I Cor. x, 16 and St. Mark xiv,

³² Mark xiv, 22.

³³ εὐχαριστήσας.

22, is equivalent to "blessed" ³⁴ or "consecrated." That is, Jesus offered over the loaf a blessing which took the form of a thanksgiving. The original of these verbs supplied two of the earliest names for the service, Eulogia and Eucharist, which are transliterations, respectively, of the Greek words for Blessing and Thanksgiving.

THE WORDS USED BY CHRIST IN BLESSING THE LOAF AND CUP ARE UNKNOWN. It is important to note that neither here nor in any Synoptic account, are the actual words given, by which the Lord "blessed" either the bread or the cup. The complete silence of the New Testament as to this, coupled with the highly varied practice of the early Church, affords conclusive evidence that no one single "form" is necessary to the due observance of the rite. The *Didache*, or "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," the earliest extant Church manual, which dates probably not later than 125 A. D., provides a form to be said over the cup and the bread respectively, although "the prophets" are definitely allowed to use what form they will.³⁵ That for the cup, which comes first, is as follows: "We give thee

³⁴ Mark xiv, 22, εὐλογήσας.

³⁵ Τοῖς δὲ προφῆταις ἐπιτρέπεται εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θελοῦσιν.

thanks, O our Father, for the holy vine of thy son ³⁶ David, which thou madest known unto us through thy Son ³⁷ Jesus: Thine is the glory for ever and ever." And over the bread: "We give thee thanks, O our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou didst make known unto us through thy Son ³⁷ Jesus: thine is the glory for ever and ever. As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains and being gathered together became one, so may thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom: for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever and ever." Justin Martyr, writing a few years later, says ³⁸ that the 'president' ³⁹ "gives thanks over the bread and wine to the best of his ability." ⁴⁰

LATER SPECULATIONS AS TO CONSECRATION.
A word should be said about later speculations as to the formulas of consecration. Thus Basil of Caesarea, writing about 374 A. D., asks, ⁴¹ "Which of the saints has left us in writing the words of the invocation at the displaying of the

³⁶ Τοῦ παιδός σου.

³⁷ Τοῦ Παιδός σου.

³⁸ *Apol.* i, 65, 66.

³⁹ ὁ προέστως.

⁴⁰ ἕστη δύνάμεις αὐτοῦ.

⁴¹ *de Spiritu Sancto*, 27.

Eucharist and the cup of blessing? For we, not content with what the Apostle or the Gospel has recorded, both in the preface and conclusion add other words." Gregory the Great affirms ⁴² that the Apostles used the Lord's Prayer in consecrating and that only! ⁴³ This belief had as its sequel the addition of the *Pater Noster* to the Canon of the Mass, where it is still to be found. Of the later Western teaching, that the necessary "form" consists of the recitation of the words "*Hoc est Corpus meum,*" "*Hic est Calix Sanguinis mei,*" it is sufficient to say that whatever words Christ used they could not have been these, inasmuch as they were addressed, not to God *during*, but to His friends *after* the blessing, as He was in the act of giving them the (already) consecrated bread and wine. The best defence that can be made for the Latin teaching—and in sober truth it is little—will perhaps be found in the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas.⁴⁴ A relic of this medi-

⁴² Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXVII, Col. 957.

⁴³ *ad ipsam solummodo orationem.*

⁴⁴ *Pars Tertia, Quaestio*

LXXVIII, *Art. I*, particularly his reply *ad primum*, which is an interesting study in scholastic syntactical method.

eval teaching survives in the rubrics directing "the manual acts" in our Book of Common Prayer.⁴⁵

THE BREAKING OF THE LOAF. Following the thanksgiving or blessing Jesus broke the loaf, and said, "This is my body which is for you: do this in remembrance of me." Whether the *Fractio panis*, an act prominent in every Liturgy, and one which gave still another name to the service, was performed only that each person present might receive a portion, or possessed a symbolic meaning as well, will probably always remain a matter of speculation. The earliest Synoptist seems clearly to suggest⁴⁶ that it was for the former purpose alone. In any case, as has been said above, the words which followed the fraction were words of administration addressed not to God but to those present as they received the blessed portions of the loaf. For the present, a discussion of the meaning of the words "This is my body which is for you"⁴⁷ will be deferred.

⁴⁵ For a brief but excellent summary of their history and significance, cf. Alcuin Club Prayer Book Revision Pamphlets, No. IV.

⁴⁶ Mark xiv, 22.

⁴⁷ In the true text there is no participle, such as "broken" or "given." These latter were early glosses.

Following both the bread and the cup, St. Paul (and possibly St. Luke) affirms that our Lord added, "Do this in remembrance of me." ⁴⁸ As this book is prepared primarily for the Modern Churchmen's Union: and as the meaning of these words has been the subject of much discussion among members of the Anglican Communion, it may be well to examine them somewhat narrowly.

THE MEANING OF "DO THIS." The word here translated "do" ⁴⁹ is perhaps the most frequently recurring verb in the Greek language, and means to "do" or "make," but by some is constantly affirmed to have the meaning of "offer in sacrifice." What appear to be the facts in the matter? It is found in the Greek Old Testament 3238 times, in slightly more than 3200 instances with the general sense of to "do" or to "make." The nineteen or more exceptions are cases where the object throws back a particular meaning into the verb, and so defines the nature of the "doing": just as in English "to do one's boots" denotes, because of the reflected meaning of the object,

⁴⁸ Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

⁴⁹ ποιέω.

"to polish one's boots": "to do one's teeth" means "to brush one's teeth," etc. In every case the derived meaning is to be found, not in the verb, but in the immediate context. In the New Testament the term occurs 565 times, of which 157 instances are in St. Luke and 80 in St. Paul. The fact that in no other case in the New Testament could the verb possibly be rendered by "offer in sacrifice" may very easily be verified by reference to a Greek concordance. Nor is this because the New Testament writers are unable to express a sacrificial idea when they so desire. Thus St. Paul says:⁵⁰ "I beseech you . . . to present⁵¹ your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service." Almost every word here is of a sacrificial nature. Or St. Peter:⁵² "Ye also, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up⁵³ spiritual sacrifices"; St. John:⁵⁴ "The hour cometh that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth⁵⁵ service unto God"; Heb.:⁵⁶ "Christ also, having been once

⁵⁰ Rom. xii, 1.

⁵¹ παραστήσαι, not ποιῆσαι.

⁵² I Peter, ii, 5.

⁵³ ἀνεύχαι, not ποιῆσαι

⁵⁴ John xvi, 2.

⁵⁵ προσφέρειν, not ποιεῖν.

⁵⁶ ix, 28.

offered" ⁵⁷ etc. St. Matthew: ⁵⁸ "If, therefore, thou art offering ⁵⁹ thy gift at the altar," etc. St. Mark: ⁶⁰ "Go thy way, show thyself to the priest, and offer ⁶¹ for thy cleansing," etc. It seems incredible, therefore, that had St. Paul conceived our Lord's Aramaic word to mean "offer in sacrifice," he should have selected as its Greek equivalent a colorless term which he universally employs in the seventy-eight remaining instances in his letters in its ordinary sense of "do" or "make." In his two letters to this Church he uses this same verb twenty-one times: by what miracle of penetration were the Corinthians to know that in these two verses he meant it to be understood in a sense he nowhere else employs? It is not as if it were followed by a word denoting sacrifice, which would reflect its meaning upon the verb and so define the "doing" as "offering in sacrifice." It is here followed by a neuter pronoun, ⁶² which can only mean "this thing" or "this action." The case is utterly different from one of those rare instances in the Greek Old Testament, as *e.g.*, Numbers xxix, 2,

⁵⁷ προσερχεῖς, not ποιῇς

⁵⁸ v, 23.

⁵⁹ προσφέρεις, not ποιῇς.

⁶⁰ i, 44.

⁶¹ προσέειπε, not ποιῇσον.

⁶² τοῦτο.

"Ye shall offer a burnt offering"⁶³ for a sweet savour unto the Lord," where the Hebrew term for "offer" is properly rendered by this Greek verb, because of the sacrificial meaning of its following object: there are not, however, thirty such instances among the more than thirty-two hundred occurrences of the verb in the Septuagint. No Greek Father, with the possible exception of Justin Martyr,⁶⁴ ever understood the word in the passage under discussion as meaning other than "perform this action": that is, "thus take a loaf, bless it, break it," etc. The witness of all the Liturgies, Eastern and Western, is to the same effect. They never employ either this verb or its Latin equivalent *facere* when the bread and wine are offered, but always the regular Greek or Latin sacrificial term. In the Reformation period, however, two Roman Catholic writers, Clichtovius and Ambrosius Catharinus, imported into it the meaning of "offer this in sacrifice"; and this thought of theirs regularly reappears in Anglican literature.⁶⁵ But the idea was born only of the exigencies of con-

⁶³ ποιήσετε δλοκαυτώματα.

⁶⁴ *Try.* XLI, LXX.

⁶⁵ *e.g.* Darwell Stone, "The Holy Communion," p. 30.

troversy, in which Clichtovius and Ambrosius Catharinus were engaged, and was at once repudiated by the best Roman Catholic scholars, such as Bellarmine,⁶⁶ Maldonatus and Estius, the last of whom says⁶⁷ that so forced a meaning is "plainly beyond the mind of Scripture," or as he adds a line or two lower down,⁶⁸ "*facere* (*i.e.* the Latin equivalent of the Greek word for 'do') can never, without forcing its meaning, be rendered by *sacrificare*."

THE MEANING OF "IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME." Let us now consider the phrase "in remembrance of me,"⁶⁹ which is also recurrently affirmed to carry the meaning of an objective memorial. The Greek term translated "remembrance"⁷⁰ is a passive (or reflexive) verbal noun, and denotes "a calling to mind," "a recollection." Both Plato and Aristotle distinguish between "memory"⁷¹ and "recollection,"⁷² the former being conceived as instinctive and common to beasts and men, while the latter is "the *reviving*

⁶⁶ "*Catholici non tam in-
epti.*"

⁶⁷ *in Pauli Epp.* Vol. I, p. 618; "*plane praeter mentem Scripturae.*"

⁶⁸ "*facere* nequaquam nisi

coacte per 'sacrificare' potest exponi.

⁶⁹ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

⁷⁰ ἀνάμνησις.

⁷¹ μνήμη.

⁷² ἀνάμνησις.

of faded impressions by a distinct act of the will, the reflex, at the bidding of the mind, of knowledge which has once ebbed," and therefore proper to man only. Thus Plato⁷³ pictures the latter term as connoting "the inflow of perception which has faded," and with him agree almost verbally both Aristotle⁷⁴ and the Alexandrian Jew Philo. A later Platonist⁷⁵ defines it as "the new birth or recovery of knowledge," and a writer of the fifth century B.C.⁷⁶ employs it to denote "a recollection of vows to pay sacrifices."⁷⁷ While the term occurs frequently in Jewish and classical treatises, the present writer has found no instances where it bears other than the above meaning. It is found five times in the Greek Old Testament, twice in the Pentateuch,⁷⁸ twice in Psalm titles,⁷⁹ and once in "Wisdom."⁸⁰ In the New Testament, outside of its three⁸¹ (?) occurrences in connection with the Eucharist, it is found only in Heb. x, 3, where its meaning is unmistakably clear. There the author is en-

⁷³ *de Legg.* V, 732b.

⁷⁴ *e.g., de Hist. Anim.* I, i,

15.

⁷⁵ Olympiodorus.

⁷⁶ Lycias.

⁷⁷ ἀναμνήσεις θυσιών.

⁷⁸ Lev. xxiv, 7, Numb. x, 10.

⁷⁹ Pss. 37, 69.

⁸⁰ xvi, 6.

⁸¹ I Cor. xi, 24, 25. There is some doubt as to the genuineness of Luke xxii, 19, 20.

deavoring to show that the Jewish sacrifices, which by their very repetition revealed their inefficacy, had nevertheless served an important and indeed divinely appointed purpose. For they had kept alive the sense of sin. "In them," he says, "there is a *recollection* of sins every year:⁸² for," as he immediately adds, "it is impossible for the blood of bulls and goats to *take away sin*." The Jewish sacrifices, in the opinion of the Alexandrian author, were instituted with a view to a recollection of sin: for the purpose of keeping alive the sense of responsibility. The Eucharist was given, according to the tradition received by St. Paul, "for the purpose of recalling *me*⁸³ to mind"; with the object of continually bringing home to man's heart the true significance of the life and death of Christ. But the term apparently is never used objectively, nor indeed does it appear that it could be. There is a Greek word which has this meaning,⁸⁴ and it is found in the New Testament.⁸⁵ An angel tells Cornelius that his "prayers and his alms are gone up for a memorial⁸⁶ before God," i.e., they "put God in

⁸² Ἐν αὐταῖς ἀνάμνησις ἁμαρτιῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν.

⁸³ ἐμὴν- intensive.

⁸⁴ μνημόσυνον.

⁸⁵ Acts x, 5.

⁸⁶ εἰς μνημόσυνον.

mind" of him who offered them. And this is the word regularly used in the Greek Old Testament—occurring seventy-one times—for that part of the sacrifice which was burned on the altar and went up to God to "put Him in mind" of His worshipper. When the Church had come to conceive of the Eucharist as a sacrifice it began to employ this term, which is of frequent occurrence in the Liturgies, to express the sacrificial memorial before God. But it is not the word used by St. Paul. Two illustrations of Christian writers' use of the term may be cited, one from Justin Martyr, the other from the last of the Greek Fathers). They are typical. Justin (c. 150 A.D.) explains⁸⁷ the word as that "whereby the Passion of the Son of God, which He underwent for men, is brought to mind."⁸⁸ Euthemius Zigabenus (c. 1115 A.D.) thus expands⁸⁹ St. Luke's "Do this in remembrance of me." "Do this, the new mystery, the Lord says, and not the old. For the latter offering was to call to mind the deliverance of the Hebrew first-born, even

⁸⁷ Migne, *Patr. Gr.* VI, Col. 745f.

⁸⁸ in *Quatt Evang.* Vol. I, p. 1019. *Lipsiae*, 1792.

⁸⁹ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει. . . ἐν ᾗ . . . μέμνηται.

their freedom: but this is to recall the Master to mind. For through such a sacrifice as this we are reminded ⁹⁰ that His body was delivered unto death for us, and His blood poured out, and thus our memory is ever kept fresh." As a representative Latin author, Thomas Aquinas may be quoted. Commenting ⁹¹ upon "*in meam commemorationem*," the Vulgate equivalent of "in remembrance of me," he rightly expounds the phrase as "namely, in memory of my Passion." ⁹² With this agree the Greek Liturgies, ⁹³ the Roman *Canon Missae*, ⁹⁴ and our own Book of Common Prayer.

A COMPARISON OF PRAYER BOOK TEACHING WITH THE FOREGOING. It may be of advantage at this point to turn from the Epistle for a brief space, and endeavor to bring together the passages in the Prayer Book which have a bearing upon the subject, so as to compare its teaching with that of St. Paul. The italics in the follow-

⁹⁰ ἀναμνησκόμεθα. Note the passive. ἀνάμνησις is a passive verbal noun, formed from this verb.

⁹¹ *in Pauli Epp.*, Vol. I, p. 457.

⁹² *scilicet, in memoriam meae passionis.*

⁹³ τοιὺνδὲ μνησθέντες,
"We therefore, recalling to mind."

⁹⁴ *Unde et memores.*

ing citations are, needless to say, our own. In the Longer Exhortation⁹⁵ we are told that "*to the end that we should always remember the exceeding great love of our Master, and only Saviour, Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-shedding he hath obtained for us; he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and for a continual remembrance of his death,* to our great and endless comfort." If to anyone there be the slightest uncertainty as to whether the latter italicized phrase is to be taken objectively or subjectively, all possible doubt is removed by comparing it with the former. In the Canon⁹⁶ we are told that our Lord on the cross "made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world." We should note how the compilers of the Prayer Book have almost gone out of their way here, in their effort to heap term upon term, and so to emphasize what they conceive to be the *finality* of Christ's offering. Why, in their judgment, was the Eucharist instituted?

⁹⁵ P. 230.

⁹⁶ P. 235.

At once they proceed to tell us. Our Lord, they affirm, "did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to *continue* [here is brought out the force of the present tense of the Greek equivalent for 'do'], a perpetual *memory* of that his precious death and sacrifice, until his coming again: for in the night in which he was betrayed, he took Bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my Body, which is given for you; *Do this in remembrance of me.* Likewise, after supper, he took the Cup; and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins: *Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.*"

We note, first, that this section of the Canon is purely recitative. It is at once the solemn reading of our charter to God in the presence of the assembly, and the giving glory to Him for so great a legacy of His Son, which declares our right to do what we are about to do. Then it should be observed that the account of the Institution is based upon I Cor. xi, with which are

"conflated" various phrases from the Synoptists. Third, that "memory," as the connective particle "for" unambiguously reveals, is defined as meaning "in remembrance of me."

THE ANAMNESIS. Catching up the thought of this last phrase, as in the *Unde et memores* of the West, and the "Wherefore calling to mind" of the East, the priest continues: "Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we, thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto thee, the *memorial* thy Son hath commanded us to make; *having in remembrance* his blessed passion and precious death," etc. Here again "memorial" is made clear by the phrase "*having in remembrance*," and not "*putting in remembrance*."

MEANING OF "THESE THY HOLY GIFTS." But what is the meaning of "these thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto thee?" The words—save for the insertion of "which we now offer unto thee" in the Scottish Book, from which our Canon is taken—come ultimately, in their Eng-

lish form, from the Canon of 1549, which reads simply "we . . . make . . . with these thy holy gifts, the memorial. . . ." And the source of the last is the traditional Latin rite according to the Use of Sarum. In the Latin Canon the passage reads: "We offer unto thy most excellent Majesty, *of thy gifts and favors*,⁹⁷ a pure Sacrifice,⁹⁸ a holy Sacrifice, an immaculate Sacrifice, the holy Bread of eternal life, and the Cup of everlasting salvation." Here quite clearly the thought is of the offering up of Christ; for mere bread could hardly be described as *Hostiam immaculatam*, and in any case the "words of institution," which by Latin teaching constitute the "form" of consecration, have already been said. How entirely different is the thought in our own Book! Here is no hint of offering an "immaculate Sacrifice," which in the "*Supplices Te*" of the Latin rite that almost immediately follows, is asked "to be carried by the hands of thy holy angel to thy altar on high." The whole point of view is other. No prayer whatever has as yet been said over the gifts. The bread and wine are here solemnly set aside and offered to God

⁹⁷ *de tuis donis ac datis.*

⁹⁸ *Hostiam.*

for the prayer which in a moment is to be made over them. The "memorial" which we are making—the term is obviously intended as the equivalent of St. Paul's *anamnesis*, the meaning of which, as we have seen, is "recollection"—is quite clearly explained in the next clause as "having in remembrance his blessed passion and precious death." The Invocation then follows, that God will "vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy Word⁹⁹ and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine"—surely an otiose proceeding, if they have been already consecrated! Then once more is affirmed the purpose of the Eucharist: "that we, receiving them according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, *in remembrance of his death and passion*, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood." In the same way, when the communicant is given the hallowed bread and wine, he is told to take them "*in remembrance that Christ died for thee*": "*in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee*." So in the two Exhortations on p. 240ff. we are told

⁹⁹For the Invocation of the Prayer Book," ed. by Wordsworth, cf. "Bishop Serapion's worth, p. 45f.

that "the most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ" is "to be . . . received *in remembrance* of his meritorious Cross and Passion": that it is our "duty to receive the Communion *in remembrance* of the sacrifice of his death, as he himself hath commanded." The Catechism, which in this section is probably the work of Bishop Overall,¹⁰⁰ carries on the same thought when it asks: "Why was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ordained?" and answers: "For the continual *remembrance* of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby." In the lighter type of dogmatic manual it is often affirmed that "remembrance" has here an objective sense, as though it signified "putting God in mind" of the sacrifice of the death of Christ. Such writers should recall that on this hypothesis, the Eucharist is also offered, according to the text, to put Him in mind "of the benefits which we receive thereby": which is absurd.

IN WHAT SENSE THE PRAYER BOOK TEACHES A EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE. It is thus clear that

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Procter and Frere, of Common Prayer," pp. "A New History of the Book 600n, 602n.

in the Prayer Book there is neither hint nor suggestion of offering to God the body and blood of Christ. On the other hand, we find in connection with the Eucharist much sacrificial language. The officiant is again and again referred to as "priest," and in the Office of Institution the place of celebration becomes an "altar." What is offered by the priest at this altar? According to the Prayer Book he presents at this service, as representative of the people, more than one oblation. Thus after offering to God the alms, in accordance with the rubric, he prays as follows: "We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our alms and oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty." Probably "oblations" here means the people's offerings of whatever kind, other than money.¹⁰¹ In former times, *e.g.*, the parishioners brought and presented the bread and wine for the service, a custom which has long since become obsolete. But the term, like others elsewhere, has survived. Besides the alms and prayers, the priest, as we saw above, later on solemnly offers the "gifts" of bread and wine, ere making over

¹⁰¹ Cf. Brightman, "The English Rite," Vol. I, p. civf.

them the prayer of blessing. Before concluding the Prayer of Consecration, he beseeches God "mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving." The Prayer Book here teaches, that is, that in this service we *do* offer a sacrifice, the content of which is praise and thanksgiving. Compare *e.g.*, Heb. xiii, 10, 15: "We have an altar. . . . Through Him then let us offer up a sacrifice of praise [*i.e.*, a sacrifice which consists of praise: genitive of definition] to God continually, that is, the fruit of lips which make confession to his name." Or Ps. 1, 23: "Whoso offereth the sacrifice of thanksgiving glorifieth me." The two thoughts are "conflated" in our Prayer Book. So for the newly instituted clergyman the prayer is made that God will "be graciously pleased to bless the ministry and service of him who is now appointed to offer the sacrifices of prayer and praise to thee in this house." Again in the Eucharist the priest, on behalf of himself and all his people, makes still another sacrificial offering, based upon the words of Rom. xii, 1. "And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, our selves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacri-

fice unto thee." And he confesses finally, with reference to all that in this service he has offered up to God—alms, "oblations," prayers, the gifts of bread and wine, indeed the whole sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving in which he and the people have been engaged—that "although we are unworthy to offer unto thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences."

Thus there is abundant justification for calling the Eucharistic service in the Prayer Book sacrificial. Only let us be sure what we mean when we use the term, and that it be devoid of any equivocal connotation. All worship is sacrificial. That of the Eucharist differs from other sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving not at all in kind; and in degree only because we concentrate there in our offering all that we have and are.

SUMMARY OF PURPOSE OF EUCHARIST, ACCORD-
INT TO I COR. xi. Coming back to St. Paul, it is clear that the meaning he intended to convey by the sentence which our English Bible translates "This do in remembrance of me," is as follows:

"Continue to perform¹⁰² this action¹⁰³ which you have just seen me perform. That is, thus take a loaf, offer over it a prayer of thanksgiving, break it and eat it, for the purpose of¹⁰⁴ calling me affectionately¹⁰⁵ to mind." This was the purpose, according to the Apostle, for which Christ instituted the Eucharist. There is no thought here, direct or indirect, of its being sacrificial in character. It was instituted to "*keep* in mind," not to "*put* in mind."

SOURCE OF ST. PAUL'S WORDS. The immediate source of the command here attributed to Christ is naturally speculative. But that within fifteen or twenty years of His death there had originated the utterly unhistorical tradition that Jesus had instituted and commanded the continuance of this meal when in fact He did nothing of the kind, is to the present writer unbelievable. When tangible evidence, as distinct from what still appears to be subjective, highly rarefied, and too often *a priori* supposition, is produced; and when we know a good deal more about the Mystery Cults than we do at present, we shall be able

¹⁰² ποιεῖτε: present tense.

¹⁰³ τοῦτο: neuter.

¹⁰⁴ εἰς expressing purpose.

¹⁰⁵ ἐμὴν, intensive.

to determine judicially whether the words are a corruption of the first fifteen years of the Church's life; and how far, if at all, St. Paul's alleged sacramentalism is the result of his Græco-Roman environment. Till then, with a goodly number of modern Christian scholars, we may be pardoned for believing them to be genuine words of Christ.

THE CUP CONTAINED FERMENTED GRAPE JUICE. An interval appears to have elapsed between the blessing of the bread and the cup. It was "after the supping" ¹⁰⁶ that in the same manner also ¹⁰⁷ He took the cup, *i.e.*, offered over it the same or a similar thanksgiving. While we do not certainly know whether the loaf contained panary ferment, there is no doubt whatever that the cup contained fermented grape juice, to which, probably, in accordance with Jewish custom, a little water had been added. That the wine was fermented is certain for the following reason. The latest possible date for the Spring festival of Passover is two or three months earlier than the earliest known date for the ripening of the grapes

¹⁰⁶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι: *cf.*
the *Canon Missae*, "*postquam*
coenatum est."

¹⁰⁷ ὡσαύτως καὶ.

in Palestine. Therefore the Jerusalem host could not have secured "unfermented" grape juice from the current year's harvest, and hence he must have used grape juice from the crop of the previous Autumn at least. But fermentation is a bacteriological process, which in exposed juices begins almost immediately, and we know that the Palestinian Jew had no knowledge of antisepsis. There was but one way for him to prevent the fresh grape juice from becoming vinegar. And that was to seal it hermetically, the result being that ere long it became a true intoxicating wine. One recalls a brief parable of our Lord ¹⁰⁸ which is germane to the subject. "No man putteth fresh 'wine' into old wine skins: if otherwise, the wine will burst the skins, and the wine perisheth, and the skins. But fresh 'wine' must be put into new wine skins."

MAY UNFERMENTED GRAPE JUICE BE USED IN THE CUP? But is it indeed the case, as the guardians of Christian tradition affirm, that a minimum alcoholic content is a *sine qua non* to the 'validity' of the sacrament? If so, is this not another way of saying that the reality of the

¹⁰⁸ Mark ii, 22.

sacrament is conditioned upon the degree of bacteriological reproduction in the grape juice? And does anyone, however wedded to what he conceives to be the "tradition of the Church," really believe this to be the case? It is a singular anomaly that an exception to a Constitutional Amendment must be made, not to satisfy what many think are the just claims of the grape farmer, but out of consideration for what in reality are no more than the prejudices of Christians. Let us recall what has happened in regard to the bread, and then consider whether, *pari passu*, the same may not lawfully be done with the cup. It is obvious that Christ Himself used either a fermented or an unfermented loaf, and that at some period in the past it was definitely known which of the two it was. But it is also certain that, at an unknown date, individual clergymen began to set aside His example, and that their practice was ultimately followed by all others in their half of the Church. Either the East, which uses fermented loaves, or the West, which for centuries has ordinarily employed unfermented bread, has broken with His example. And does anyone think the worse of either, or

suppose that on either hypothesis the "validity" of the sacrament is a whit impaired thereby? May not the same be done today with "the fruit of the vine"? Let those who fear that the use of "unfermented" grape juice (if, outside of a biological laboratory, there be such a thing) will cause a break in the "tradition of the Church," recall the fact that Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the scholastics, says ¹⁰⁹ that the sacrament may lawfully be celebrated with *mustum*, and that in cases of necessity a bunch of grapes may be squeezed into the cup immediately before Mass, a practice which he affirms to be ordinarily prohibited, not because such grape juice is "unfermented" (a point which he does not raise here), but on account of foreign matter also entering thereby,¹¹⁰ and so making such a custom normally *indecent*. Again, many states prohibit by law the use of the common cup; so that, if living in such a state, every time we use the single cup at the Eucharist we set at naught the law. If on other grounds the use of individual cups be thought desirable, on what theological basis can we object

¹⁰⁹ *Summa Theologica, Pars* ¹¹⁰ *Propter impuritatem*
Tertia, Quaes. LXXIV, Art. musti.

to the practice? Surely not on the ground that we are violating the example of Christ; for it is certain that He used a single loaf, yet most of us in the West employ individual pieces of bread. *Pari passu*, may we not do the same in the matter of the cup?

AN ADDED COMMENT ON ST. PAUL AS TO THE PURPOSE OF THE EUCHARIST. St. Paul having finished his recital of the Institution of the Eucharist, and recorded its purpose as handed down to him from Christ, goes on to add a comment of his own. "For as oft as ye eat this loaf and drink the cup, ye do proclaim the Lord's death,¹¹¹ until He come." This expresses the *active* side of the Lord's Supper. The very service itself, the Apostle says, is a *verbum visibile*, a "preaching" of the Lord's death in silent ministry by the whole Church.¹¹²

MEANING OF "SHOW THE LORD'S DEATH." Here again, however, acute discussion not infrequently arises. It is often affirmed that the verb employed by St. Paul means to "show forth" to

¹¹¹ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου *Scripturarum omnium sacramento ac testimonio effusus*
απαγγέλλετε.

¹¹² Cf. Cyprian, *Ep.* 63 *ad* *praedicatur.*
Caecil: "qui [*Christi sanguis*]

God the Lord's death, in the sense expressed, for instance, in the well known hymn:

We here present, we here spread forth to Thee
That only Offering perfect in Thine eyes,
The one, true, pure, immortal Sacrifice.

Does this verb ¹¹³ admit of such a meaning? Certainly the Biblical usage of the term is clear. In the Greek Old Testament it occurs only twice, ¹¹⁴ in both instances in its proper sense "to proclaim throughout." Thus, "he . . . published abroad ¹¹⁵ that the Jews had One who fought for them": "he would become a Jew . . . publishing abroad ¹¹⁶ the might of God." In the New Testament it is found eighteen times, eleven in the Acts and seven in St. Paul's Epistles. In seventeen of the eighteen instances no one would have any doubt whatever as to its meaning. Two illustrations will perhaps be sufficient. "These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city, and set forth ¹¹⁷ customs which it is not lawful for us to receive." ¹¹⁸ "This Jesus, whom I proclaim ¹¹⁹

¹¹³ καταγγέλλετε.

¹¹⁴ 2 Macc. viii, 36, ix, 17—
in Prov. xvi, 5 it is a variant.

¹¹⁵ κατήγγελλεν.

¹¹⁶ καταγγέλλοντα.

¹¹⁷ καταγγέλλουσιν.

¹¹⁸ Acts xvi, 20, 21.

¹¹⁹ καταγγέλλω.

unto you, is the Christ.”¹²⁰ Is there any reason to suppose that the verb has not the same connotation in this instance that it possesses in the other seventeen? If in this passage St. Paul had desired to teach the Corinthians that in the Eucharist a sacrifice was offered to God, why did he not plainly say so? On six other occasions he uses this verb—twice in this very letter¹²¹—as meaning “to announce, declare, promulgate, make known, proclaim, publish.” Could the Corinthians possibly have imagined that he meant it to be understood in an entirely different sense in xi, 26? His epistles, as has been said, are by no means destitute of sacrificial terminology.¹²² Why is such language not used of the Eucharist? Writing to the Romans, he tells the Church there¹²³ that he is a sacrificing priest standing at the altar of God:¹²⁴ but the sacrifice which he offers is not the Eucharist, but the Gentile Church. It is said, however, that while the verb in this context may rightly be translated by “proclaim,” that “proclaim” here means to proclaim to

¹²⁰ Acts xvii, 3.

¹²¹ ii, 1, ix, 14.

¹²² e.g. θυσία, προσφορά, δαμῆ εὐωδίας, ιερουργέω and the like.

¹²³ Rom. xv, 16.

¹²⁴ ιερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα γένηται ἡ προσφορά τῶν ἐθνῶν εὐπρόσδεκτος.

God, and so to "offer." Is it not obvious that such an assumption is wholly gratuitous, and that not only is there not a single shred of evidence wherewith to support it, but that every bit of available evidence flatly contradicts it? "Proclaim" and "offer" are not synonyms. Perhaps a reverse illustration will make this clear. Thus it would hardly be intelligible to translate St. Matthew v, 23, "If, therefore, thou proclaimest ¹²⁵ thy gift at the altar," etc. The verb used in this last passage is an exceedingly common sacrificial term, which is also frequently employed with a slightly different prefix.¹²⁶ The two together are found in the Greek Old Testament with which St. Paul was so familiar, more than three hundred times. Why did he not employ some such term here, instead of a word which in no other Biblical instance has the meaning of offering to God, but always of proclaiming to men? Must we not inevitably conclude it was because the thought of the Eucharist as a sacrifice was not present to his mind?

IS I COR. x, 14-22 SACRIFICIAL? "But," it is replied, "granted that there are no sacrificial

¹²⁵ προσφέρης.¹²⁶ ἀναφέρω.

references in chapter xi; his language in chapter x is so clear as to Eucharistic Sacrifice as to remove all ambiguity whatever from his belief and teaching." To this section,¹²⁷ then, let us address ourselves. From it we should also gain some light as to the meaning of the sayings in chapter xi, "This is my body"; "this cup is the new covenant in my blood."

SUMMARY OF THE AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENT. The argument of those who believe that St. Paul is here treating of the Eucharist as a sacrifice runs somewhat as follows. The Apostle states that the heathen festivals were sacrifices offered to demons, and he therefore, of course, quite clearly implies that the place on which they were offered was an altar. In the next verse he calls this altar a "table," as being the place where the offered sacrifice is afterwards partaken of by the communicants. Over against this table or altar of demons he sets "the table of the Lord," affirming the impossibility of the same man communicating at both. Therefore the table of the Lord must also be an altar, and the Christian Eucharist a sacrifice; for otherwise there would be no object

¹²⁷ x, 14-22.

in his reference to the heathen and Jewish services as sacrifices. His argument, in fact, may justly be said to break down, unless the "table" in the one instance bears the same connotation as the "table" in the other. Or as a Roman Catholic writer puts it: "the Apostle sets altar against altar, sacrifice against sacrifice, Communion against Communion."

ST. PAUL IS HERE DISCUSSING COMMUNION; THE QUESTION OF SACRIFICE IS EXTRANEOUS. Now we venture to suggest that the line of thought above rests upon a misconception of what St. Paul is endeavoring to emphasize throughout this entire section. "Flee from idolatry" is the warning running right through this chapter; a subject, indeed, which in one way or another he has been alluding to since the beginning of chapter viii. In chapter x, 14-22, he is illustrating one terrible evil which dalliance with idolatry in his judgment involves—communion with demons. The whole point of his argument is, we venture to think, not whether the worshipper at a religious feast makes an offering or assists in a sacrifice—that lies entirely outside his argument, as it appears possible

to show—but that a participant in a sacred meal *ipso facto* comes into union with his deity, whether, as in case of the Jewish festal services, with Jehovah: in the idol feasts, with demons; or in the Christian Eucharist, with Christ. The key-word of the whole section, that is, is *communion*. The Eucharist is taken as the starting point. The reminder of the relation established by that feast is designed to bring home to the Corinthian “men of sense” ¹²⁸ the relation set up by participation in the other. “The cup of the blessing which we bless, is it not a fellowship in the blood of the Christ? The loaf which we break, is it not a fellowship in the body of the Christ?” ¹²⁹ This truth of the identification of participant and Deity in a sacred meal is further illustrated by a reference to ancient Israel.¹³⁰ Israel after the flesh, as well as the Israel of God, had, in their degree, a Communion. When the former partook of their sacrificial feasts they became communicants of the altar, they appro-

¹²⁸ x, 15, “as to men of sense (φρονιμοις: ‘wise men’ would require σοφοις.) I speak; be yourselves the judges of what I affirm.”

¹²⁹ x, 16.

¹³⁰ v. 18.

priated the covenant blessings of Jehovah, they partook of all the gifts for which that Jewish altar stood. But this fact of Communion, in the judgment of St. Paul, is also true of idol feasts, to which truth all along he has been leading up. Demons, he affirms, are in reality worshipped at these festivals, and with demons the communicants are brought into relation. Not indeed, that an *idol*-sacrifice has reality, or that an idol is anything in the world. This latter he has expressly denied already. "No, but what the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons and not to God; and I would not that you should be communicants of the demons."¹³¹ In fact, the position of those Christians who do communicate at such feasts is utterly untenable. "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons: ye cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons."¹³² To attempt to do both is to "provoke the Lord to jealousy." Such double dealing, such dallying with idolatry on the part of Christian men, is to dare the Lord's displeasure, to suppose themselves stronger than He."¹³³

¹³¹ V. 20.¹³² V. 21.¹³³ V. 22.

Now it is noticeable that St. Paul does not say, "Ye cannot offer sacrifice ~~at~~ the altar of the Lord and the altar of demons." But why does he not phrase his sentence in some such way? After considering attentively the whole trend of his argument in this section, must we not answer that it is because it is the question of Communion, of fellowship, and not of sacrifice or non-sacrifice which he is comparing? There is a quality common to all three services which he selects and isolates from any other attribute they may share. On this common quality he bases his argument. That the thoughtful and impartial reader, as he follows step by step the Apostle's reasoning, will affirm this quality to be that of sacrifice and not communion, or of communion *plus* sacrifice, we do not believe. St. Paul has quite obviously received information that the Corinthians had been attendants and communicants at the heathen religious festivals. He desires to break this off absolutely. Therefore he proceeds to show that to partake of a religious meal, whether heathen, Jewish, or Christian, really brings the partaker into relation with the being who is worshipped. In the Jewish feast, the recipient through com-

municating appropriates the sacredness of the Jewish altar: in the heathen feast, likewise through communicating, he comes into union with the demons: in the Eucharist, through communicating, he has "communion with the body and the blood of the Christ." Is it not plain that the characteristic which the Apostle isolates and compares is solely that of communion? Whether one, or two, or all were also sacrificial is for his present purpose indifferent: it lies outside the object of his argument. It would seem, therefore, that to assume from this section, either that he taught directly, or implied indirectly, that because two services of communion happened at the same time to be sacrificial, therefore the third service was sacrificial also, is entirely gratuitous. That point is not raised in the section under discussion. So far as his words here tell us anything one way or another, the Eucharist might be a propitiatory sacrifice either in the medieval or Tridentine sense, or it might be no sacrifice at all. To show that it is a fellowship or communion with our Lord, and that therefore Christian men are absolutely debarred from that other service which he believes to be a communion with

demons, is his one and only purpose. The truth is, the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist was an alien thought to St. Paul as to other New Testament writers. The only kind of altar which Christians of this period deemed themselves to possess, was that referred to in Heb. xiii, 10; and it is upon such an altar that the writer exhorts "through Him let us offer up a sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of lips which make confession to his name."¹³⁴

SUMMARY OF PURPOSE OF EUCHARIST. We have seen that the purpose of the Eucharist, according to St. Paul, is that we may ever keep alive in our hearts by partaking of the loaf and cup the meaning of Christ's life and death: and also, that the action itself constitutes a veritable "preaching" of His death. Can we hope to gain some meaning of the words "this is my body: this cup is the New Covenant in my blood"?

MEANING OF "THIS IS MY BODY"; "THIS IS MY BLOOD." Let us first be sure what they do *not* mean. When Christ uttered them, He was reclining in His physical body in the upper room at Jerusalem, with every physiological function

¹³⁴ Heb. x, 15; cf. for a similar altar Rom. xv, 16, I Pet. ii 5.

of his human organism *in esse*. Has any thoughtful Christian ever seriously imagined, either that He gave to the Apostles a portion of His very flesh and blood, or that then and there He transmuted His body into "Spirit," restoring it to flesh again at the conclusion of the meal? And is another hypothesis possible, if the words are to be understood literally? Discarding, then, such Western literalism, as unthinkable: and stating frankly that as yet we do not know enough either of Palestinian or of Graeco-Roman background to affirm with certainty the exact origin of the metaphor, and therefore precisely what Christ intended to convey by the words, or exactly what meaning they would have to St. Paul: it is yet possible from this letter to gain at least some idea of their general significance. Passing by, as in a brief essay such as this one must do, a discussion of the obvious reference to "the blood of the covenant," ¹³⁵ we can see from St. Paul's words in x, 16-17 the *essential* meaning of the language. To partake of the Eucharist is to revive fellowship with Christ; and, in Him, with one another. "The cup of the blessing which we bless, is it not

¹³⁵ Ex. xxiv, 8.

a *fellowship* ¹³⁶ with the blood of the Christ? The loaf which we break, is it not a *fellowship* with the body of the Christ? seeing that one body, one loaf we the many are: for we all partake of the one loaf." ¹³⁷ "Blood" and "body" are obviously used symbolically for Christ Himself. "Flesh and blood," according to this Apostle, "cannot inherit the Kingdom of God," ¹³⁸ where Christ is. And let us not employ such terms as "spiritual flesh" or "spiritual blood," which have absolutely no meaning to anyone who pauses to think. "The Lord is the Spirit," ¹³⁹ writes St. Paul to this same Church a few months later, and it is His Spirit with whom our spirit comes into fellowship at this solemn meal. "He that is joined to the Lord is one spirit." ¹⁴⁰

WAS ST. PAUL A SACRAMENTALIST? To the present writer it is difficult to understand why St.

¹³⁶ Κοινωνία, the same word as in the phrase, "The fellowship of the Holy Spirit," in the familiar words of the Grace. It is found 19 times in the New Testament, of which 13 are in St. Paul. Its 4 occurrences in I John i, 3-7, will repay study. No single

word, perhaps, so perfectly expresses the early Christians' relation to each other and to God and Christ.

¹³⁷ x, 16, 17.

¹³⁸ I Cor. xv, 50.

¹³⁹ II Cor. iii, 16.

¹⁴⁰ I Cor. vi, 16.

Paul should be called "a sacramentalist," whose religious center of gravity was the Eucharist. The evidence for such a statement in reading through his extant letters seems wholly lacking. He was above all things a mystic, who, conscious of the immediate and continuous presence of Christ in his spirit, tended to be impatient of any external *media* designed to secure this end. "I live; yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in flesh, I live in faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself up for me."¹⁴¹ Such a saying, which in essence is characteristic of all his writings, expresses the very soul of his inner life. As Burton, commenting on the words, admirably says:¹⁴² "It is of course the heavenly Christ of whom he speaks, who in religious experience is not distinguishable from the Spirit of God. With this spiritual being Paul feels himself to be living in such intimate fellowship, by him his whole life is so controlled, that he conceives him to be resident in him, imparting to him impulse and power, transforming him morally and work-

¹⁴¹ Gal. ii, 20.

¹⁴² Gal. *in loc.* (International Critical Commentary).

ing through him for and upon other men." But nowhere does he make the consciousness of this presence dependent upon the reception of the Eucharist. That the Apostle week by week took part in the great meal of fellowship which held so high a place in the lives of early Christians we may be sure. But it is equally certain that he conceived this service simply as *one* way of realizing the presence of the Spirit of Christ. The Lord whom he worshipped, who was "revealed" ¹⁴³ in him at his conversion, he has experienced continuously as a living presence in his soul. Of many later conceptions of the Eucharist he would inevitably have said, with his great successor,¹⁴⁴ "it is the Spirit that maketh alive, the flesh profiteth nothing."

THE EARLY EUCHARISTIC MEAL. It remains now to endeavor to outline the general character of the Eucharistic Meal, as celebrated at this time. It was probably held on every "first day of the week," ¹⁴⁵ and in the evening.¹⁴⁶ The latter is indeed certain, both from Acts xx, 7-11, as well as from the use of the Greek word mean-

¹⁴³ Gal. i, 15.

¹⁴⁴ John vi, 63.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Acts xx, 7.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

ing "supper" ¹⁴⁷ in I Cor. xi, 20. Christ had instituted it in the evening, when in the "acted parable" of the broken bread and the outpoured cup He had shown them that His coming death was to be for them a blessing, and it was inevitable that they should follow His example. The place would naturally be a house, probably the drawing-room of a well-to-do Christian, where adequate space for so many guests could be secured. The central portion of the service was a religious meal at which their Elder Brother ¹⁴⁸ would be conceived as the invisible host, and they themselves met together as brothers to realize more deeply the new truth of fellowship with Him and with one another. For this meal, it would seem, those who were able brought contributions of food and drink: and inasmuch as most of the Corinthian Christians were very poor, ¹⁴⁹ the well-to-do brought portions for these as well as themselves. ¹⁵⁰ Perhaps for the very poor, many of whom were slaves, ¹⁵¹ it was the only real meal of the day. While it

¹⁴⁷ δεῖπνον.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Rom. viii, 29, "The First-begotten among many brothers."

¹⁴⁹ I Cor. i, 26.

¹⁵⁰ xi, 22.

¹⁵¹ vii, 21.

was a true supper, to satisfy hunger,¹⁵² and not a mere ceremonial partaking of food, its purpose was vastly more than this. It served, as has been intimated, to bring together on the plane of equality "high and low, rich and poor, one with another," in the spirit of Christian brotherhood. When all were assembled and the meal begun, some one, probably one of the older members of the community, taking into his hands a loaf and offering over it a prayer of thanksgiving, broke it into sufficient fragments for all present to partake. And each, as he received his fragment, ate it not only with vivid recollection of the sufferings and death of Jesus, but with renewed consciousness of His abiding presence. We should like to know with certainty whether any Christian man, or only certain officers, was empowered to bless the loaf and the cup, but unfortunately with the evidence at hand, we cannot.¹⁵³ And it is futile to read back into this letter the practice of the later Church. One can but say that the probabilities, taking into account the general context of the epistle, favor the former, rather than the

¹⁵² xi, 34.

¹⁵³ "The cup . . . which we

bless . . . The loaf which we break."

latter conjecture. At the conclusion of the meal ¹⁵⁴ "the cup of the blessing which we bless" was similarly partaken of by all. This was perhaps followed by a discourse,¹⁵⁵ or "sermon," by brief addresses by different members who felt a "call" to speak, and concluded with prayer.¹⁵⁶ The "brothers" had renewed their fellowship with Christ and with each other, and had gained fresh strength wherewith to endure the burden and heat of the day.

THE CORINTHIAN PROFANATION OF THE EUCHARIST. But the actual situation outlined in the Church of Corinth of A.D. 55 reveals a sad falling away from this ideal. The early zeal of these emotional Christians had abated; factionousness, the inveterate curse of later Greece, had fiercely flamed up, and the sense of brotherhood had all but departed. The Eucharist, with the common meal of which it formed a part, was indeed still observed. But its religious significance had disappeared, and it had become so far reduced as to be little more than a club supper, at which profanation, drunkenness and general disorder prevailed.

¹⁵⁴ "After the supping," xi,
25.

¹⁵⁵ Acts xx, 7.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. I Cor. xiv, *passim*.

Let us endeavor to reconstruct the situation. It would seem that with the loss of the sense of brotherhood, came a reluctance on the part of the prominent and well-to-do to share a common meal with the outcast and the slave. Suppose we imagine that on a given day a service has been advertised for the following Sunday at 8 P.M., in such and such a man's drawing room. To the appointed place come the leisured and prominent members, in ample time, since their time is their own. And with them they bring, not only food and drink for themselves, but enough of both for the poorer members as well, for "those who have not."¹⁵⁷ The table is made ready, the hour arrives, yet perhaps more than half the congregation, composed of those whose time is *not* their own, have not yet appeared. "It is not our fault," say these ostensible Christians: "the hour was fully advertised; let us begin." And they do begin, begin with a vengeance; eating and drinking all that is before them, making a restaurant meal of the Lord's Supper, which ends in a drunken debauch.¹⁵⁸ The poor late comers find the board swept, and the "service" over. To say

¹⁵⁷ xi, 22.¹⁵⁸ xi, 21.

that St. Paul was indignant over the profanation at so sacred a service is to put it mildly. "In giving you the following charge I praise you not, seeing that ye come together not for the better but for the worse."¹⁵⁹ That underlying selfishness was the cause of such factiousness he regards as probably only too true.¹⁶⁰ Under such circumstances, "as oft as ye come together to the same place, it is not possible¹⁶¹ to eat a *Lord's* Supper, for each one is in a hurry to get¹⁶² his *own*¹⁶³ supper in the eating, and (the result is that) one is hungry and the other drunk."¹⁶⁴ If the only purpose of coming together be to satisfy physical hunger, surely that can be done, and without profanation, in your own homes.¹⁶⁵ "Or is it," he scornfully asks, "that you treat the assembly of God as of no account whatever, and put to shame those that have not?"¹⁶⁶ After showing clearly the true significance of their actions, and the grave moral dangers involved, a subject which we shall immediately take up for discussion, he

¹⁵⁹ v. 17.¹⁶⁰ v. 18.¹⁶¹ For this sense of οὐκ ἔστιν cf. Heb. ix, 5.¹⁶² προλαμβάνει.¹⁶³ Κυριακὸν and ἴδιον are

placed here in sharpest contrast.

¹⁶⁴ vv. 20, 21.¹⁶⁵ v. 22.¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

concludes with an earnest exhortation. "Wherefore, my brothers, when ye come together to eat, *wait for one another*"; and forestalling a possible objection to the indefinite postponement of the evening meal he adds: "and if any be hungry, let him eat at home (*i.e.*, before he starts out for 'church'), that yet come not together to judgment." ¹⁶⁷

THREE POSSIBLE STAGES IN A COMMUNICANT'S LIFE. In this section St. Paul enumerates three possible stages in the life of a communicant, characterized respectively by Diakrisis, Krisis, and Katakrisis. In the first, which is the normal, he is to "put himself to the proof," ¹⁶⁸ ere he partakes. The verb is one frequently used of scrutinizing or of assaying metals, to determine whether they are genuine. The prospective recipient is to test himself as to his purpose and motives ere he partake. Failure to do this had been at least one cause of the gross profanation of the sacrament by the Corinthians. But if he does this, he will be thereby enabled both to judge rightly and clearly as to himself, ¹⁶⁹ and

¹⁶⁷ vv. 34, 35.

¹⁶⁸ δοκιμάζω . . . ἑαυτόν.

¹⁶⁹ v. 31. εἰ δὲ ἑαυτοῦς διεκρίνομεν.

when he partakes to take a right attitude toward "the body," ¹⁷⁰ and so "discriminate" between this service and all other meals, which was exactly what the Corinthians had failed to do. While St. Paul is perhaps thinking primarily of the Lord when using the term "the body" ¹⁷¹ here, he seems clearly also to include the corporate assembly of Christians, the unity and brotherhood of which it was one great purpose of the meal to keep alive.¹⁷² The Corinthians, making no discrimination between this food and any other, had all but lost their sense of corporate responsibility.

Failure to follow the normal, St. Paul affirms, will bring upon the lax communicant "a judgment," ¹⁷³ a sharp stroke designed to recall him to a realization of his serious shortcomings. To eat and drink unworthily, is to "be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," ¹⁷⁴ i.e., "to outrage the emblem is to outrage its original—as if one should mock at the Queen's picture or at his

¹⁷⁰ v. 29. μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα.

one body, we the many are, for we all partake of the one loaf."

¹⁷¹ Omit 'of the Lord,' with the best MSS.

¹⁷² v. 29. κρῖμα.

¹⁷³ Cf. for the thought, I. Cor. x, 17, "seeing that one loaf,

¹⁷⁴ v. 27.

country's flag." ¹⁷⁵ A serious epidemic of sickness had broken out in Corinth, from which many members of the Church were suffering: to the Apostle this was a portion of "the judgment." ¹⁷⁶ But it cannot be too clearly stated that in St. Paul's mind these "judgments" were not final, but purely *remedial*.¹⁷⁷ The deplorable translation of verse 29 in the Authorized Version, "eateth and drinketh damnation to himself," has probably done more than all other causes combined to keep people away from the Eucharist. The third stage, of "condemnation with the world," ¹⁷⁸ is the final judgment, should all else have failed to reform the character. And so his great subject is brought to a close.

* * * * *

UNDERLYING UNITY AMONG ALL CHRISTIANS AS TO THE PURPOSE OF THE EUCHARIST. In spite of all theoretical differences between Christians, is there not an underlying unity of belief as to the *essential* significance of the Eucharist? Do not all alike believe that its real power lies in

¹⁷⁵ Findlay *in loc.*

¹⁷⁶ v. 30.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. the clear language of

v. 32.

¹⁷⁸ v. 31, ἵνα μὴ σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ κατακριθῶμεν.

bringing us into contact with a personal Christ? This does not mean that we fail to realize that the Spirit of God is everywhere in His Universe.

Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?

Or whither shall I flee from thy presence?

If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there:

If I make my bed in Sheol, behold, thou art there.

If I take the wings of the morning,

And dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea;

Even there shall thy hand lead me,

And thy right hand shall hold me.¹⁷⁹

Nor do we forget the promise of Christ, that "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."¹⁸⁰ But at certain times, in certain places, and under certain psychological conditions, we do mean that there is apt to be greater recognition of that presence. "Why then," asks Mr. Emmett, in a penetrating essay on "The Psychology of Grace,"¹⁸¹ "is there a special presence of Christ, or a special recognition of His universal presence, in the Holy Communion? Simply because

¹⁷⁹ Ps. cxxxix, 7-10.

¹⁸⁰ Mt. xviii, 20.

¹⁸¹ In "The Spirit," edited by Canon Streeter.

the whole rite is charged with the associations of His Personality. The words, the elements, the acts, carry us back directly to the supreme crisis of His life. No one can be present at the rite with a serious purpose without thinking vividly of Him. . . . To think earnestly and lovingly of Him is to realize His presence, to be with Him, to open the heart to all the influence which comes from contact with His Spirit, to be in Him and He in us."

